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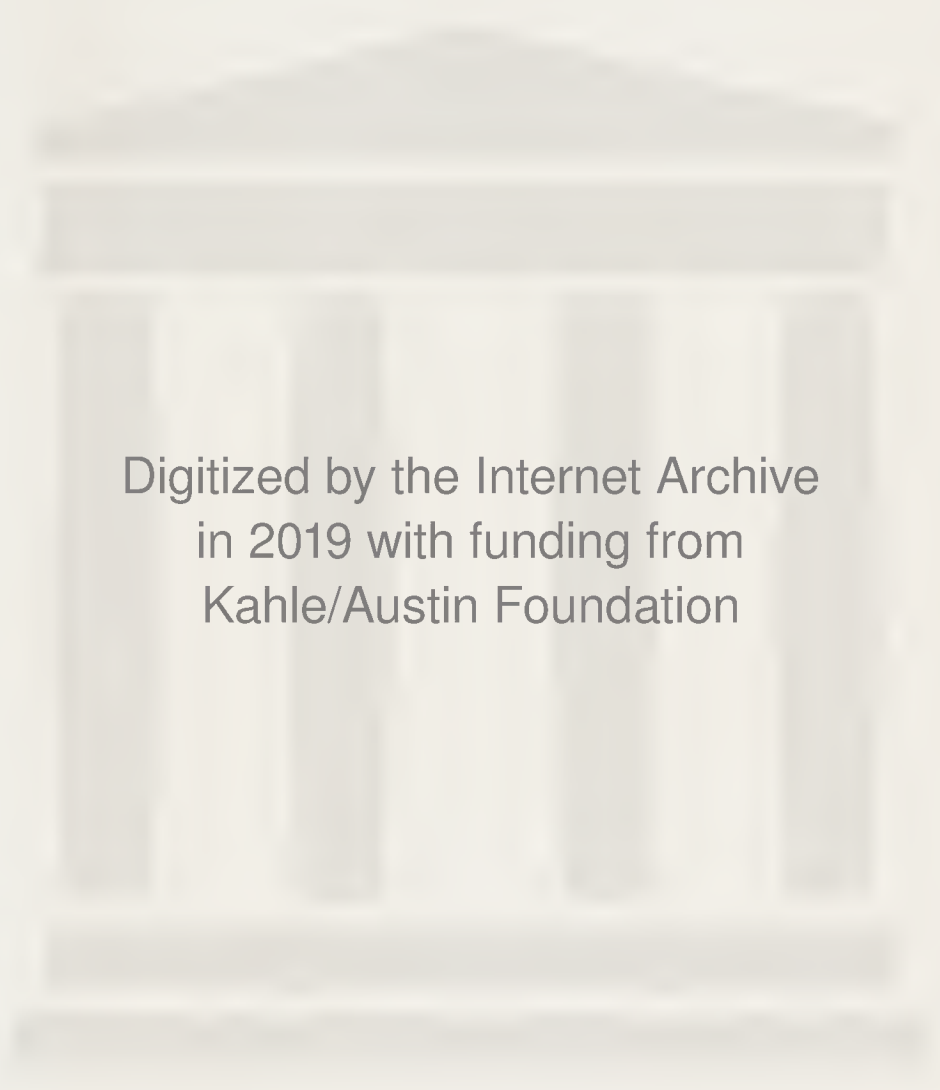
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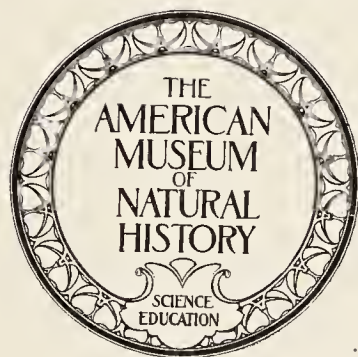
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOLUME XXX, PART VII

HOPI KINSHIP

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE



BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK CITY
1929

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HOPI KINSHIP .
BY ROBERT H. LOWIE

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HOPI KINSHIP TERMS

THE PROBLEM

In 1914 appeared Doctor W. H. R. Rivers' little book on *Kinship and Social Organisation*. It defended the theory, previously broached by Tylor, that clan exogamy and the "classificatory" or, as I have called it, the "Dakota-Iroquois" or "Bifurcate Merging" system of terminology are functionally related phenomena. This led me to a provisional examination of the North American data,¹ with a result on the whole favorable to the theory tested. My survey showed, however, that the data on Southwestern tribes were wholly inadequate. In recognition of this fact Doctor Clark Wissler enabled Professor A. L. Kroeber and me to visit the Zuñi and Hopi, respectively, for the purpose of supplying the deficiency. Professor Kroeber's contribution was published in this series some years ago.² In the meantime Doctor Elsie Clews Parsons has collected and published material on the kinship systems of other Pueblo tribes, while Doctor Leslie Spier has gathered relevant Havasupai data, and Doctor Gladys Reichard has recorded the Navajo system so that the Southwest may now be considered a fairly well-known region from this particular point of view. The problem whether and to what extent kinship nomenclatures are moulded by the clan organization has also been attacked by investigators of other areas, of whom I will only mention Mr. E. W. Gifford for his systematic reconnaissance of the Californian field.

As Rivers himself had taken pains to point out, in conformity with Lewis H. Morgan's earlier theories, there are social factors besides the clan that may affect the kinship terminology,—e.g., specific matrimonial rules, such as the cross-cousin marriage. All these, including the clan, may be classed together into the category of sociological causes. But a rival group of determinants has figured in theoretical discussion under the caption of "psychological" or "linguistic" factors. According to the advocates of linguistic causation, sociological factors are relatively impotent in moulding the evolution of kinship systems: relatives are classed together on the same principles, often indefinable, that lead to other linguistic classifications. Probably no one would go so far as to deny that membership in the same social group might lead to a corresponding classification in speech; but several insist that the origin or introduction of a new social organization or custom need not be reflected in the terminology

¹"Exogamy and the Classificatory Systems of Relationship" (*American Anthropologist*, n.s., vol. 17, pp. 223-239, 1915).

²Vol. 18, part 2.

of kinship, the natural conservatism of language tending to preserve a nomenclature inconsistent with, or at all events independent of, the social organization. That is to say, if a given people should adopt the custom of cross-cousin marriage, they might for a long period—or even till the end of time—persist in using their traditional mode of addressing or designating kin. To this contention the sociological school might reply that this ancient nomenclature may itself have reflected ancient social usage, so that ultimately the power of sociological causation would stand vindicated. Moreover, it is certainly true that Morgan, the founder of this school, by no means required a close correspondence between *present* usage and nomenclature. On the contrary, his scheme involved the very opposite; the terms of kinship were to Morgan sociological guide-posts by means of which it is possible to discover social conditions no longer extant. Indeed, no sane follower of the sociological camp could deny the influence of the time factor and the consequent maladjustment between terminology and custom. The evolution or adoption of a new social rule cannot automatically wipe out an old and create a new nomenclature. Nay, if it did, that very fact would often militate against the potency of social factors, for frequently (if not always) there are antecedent social norms which on the hypothesis itself should have affected kinship nomenclature. If, then, a new custom at once destroys the influence of the established norms, we are driven to the paradoxical conclusion that the strength of social forces varies inversely with their duration. It was a recognition of the commonsense view of the situation that led Mr. Gifford to the theory that cross-cousin marriage could not be an ancient Miwok custom since it barely affected the nomenclature of kinship, while another form of marriage had left a deep impress on it.¹

No single test-case can be expected to solve the problem of the relative influence of linguistic and sociological factors, for the history of each relationship system must have been largely unique. But for the purpose of testing the possibility of sociological causation perhaps no better case could have been chosen than that of the Hopi. The Hopi represent a distinct branch of the Shoshonean family, yet their affiliation with other branches is fairly close and argues against a very ancient separation. Any one who has heard Ute or Paviotso or Shoshoni must at once recognize many Hopi words of everyday speech, while probably no layman would readily hit upon a connection between such Siouan languages as Crow and Omaha. But while the Hopi are clearly and emphatically

¹Gifford, E. W., "Miwok Moieties," (*University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 12, no. 4, 1916), 190.

Shoshonean in speech, they differ from most other Shoshoneans—all except the South Californian groups—in their social fabric: i.e., in being organized into exogamous clans; and without exception they have the best-defined and most elaborate clan system of any member of the stock. Historical conditions have thus shaped the question for us with logical nicety. But as though through an excess of generosity we are faced by an even more favorable situation. The Shoshoneans of the Basin Area have a highly distinctive nomenclature markedly different from that of the United States east of the Rockies, the region mainly studied by Lewis H. Morgan. Negatively, they do not as a rule class the parent with his sibling of the same sex after the fashion of tribes organized into clans and lack the logically correlated classifications. Positively, they share two features hardly ever found east of the Rockies but well-developed in Far Western North America,—reciprocal terms of relationship between members of distinct generations and different terms for maternal and paternal grandparents. The problem may then be formulated as follows: Did the adoption of a clan organization produce in Hopi nomenclature the results usually associated with clans? Does the Hopi system preserve the characteristic traits of other Shoshonean nomenclatures? These are the questions to be answered in the light of the field data secured.

SUMMARY LIST

For the reader's convenience I premise a summary list of terms of consanguinity and affinity. Connection by marriage, however, is designated in so irregular a fashion that no brief statement can be at all adequate (see below).

The initial *i* (*ī*) is the pronoun "my", which also generally converts the stem into a term of address. Frequently informants gave the plural form of the pronoun by preference: e.g., *itáña'ō*, our mother, instead of *iña'ō'*, my mother. The third person possessive is usually formed by suffixing *ta* to the stem, but in this respect the word for "mother" is irregular, *iña'ō'* being "my mother" and *yō'ata* "his mother."

<i>ina'á</i>	my father
<i>iña'ō'</i>	my mother
<i>ití'í, ití'í-māna</i>	my son, my daughter
<i>itahá</i>	my mother's brother
<i>itíwaaya</i>	my sister's child (m. sp.)
<i>ik'a'á</i>	my father's sister
<i>iso'ó</i>	my grandmother
<i>ikwa'á</i>	my grandfather

imō'yi	my grandchild (m. sp., w. sp.); my brother's child (w. sp.)
fbaba	my elder brother
iaqōqá	my elder sister
itō'pqua	my younger brother (m. sp., w. sp.); my younger sister (w. sp.)
icíwa	my younger sister (m. sp.)
imō'ōnaña'ō	my kinswoman's husband
imō'uwi	my kinsman's wife
qúñya	a husband
nō'mma	a wife

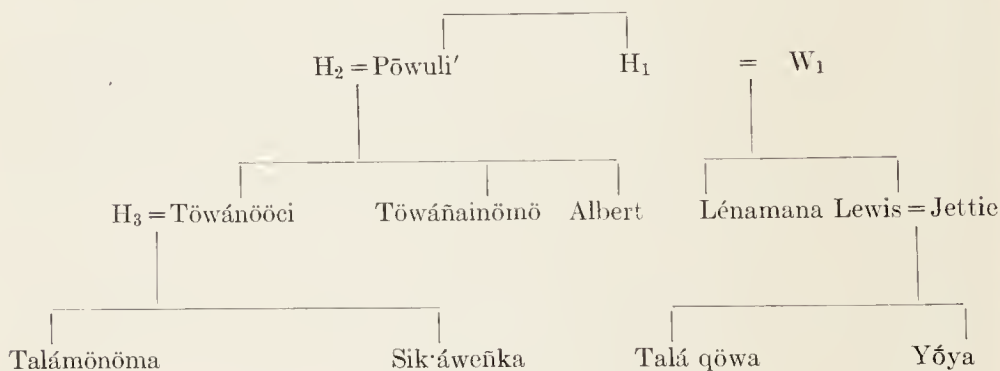
INDIVIDUAL TERMS

INA'A'

ina'a' is the term applied by both sexes to the father, the father's brother, the father's sister's son, and the father's clansman generally, including the father's maternal uncle. It may be applied to the mother's husband even if he is not the speaker's father, as well as to the mother's sister's husband, such usage being, if I understand the matter correctly, optional; also to the father-in-law (but see p. 377).

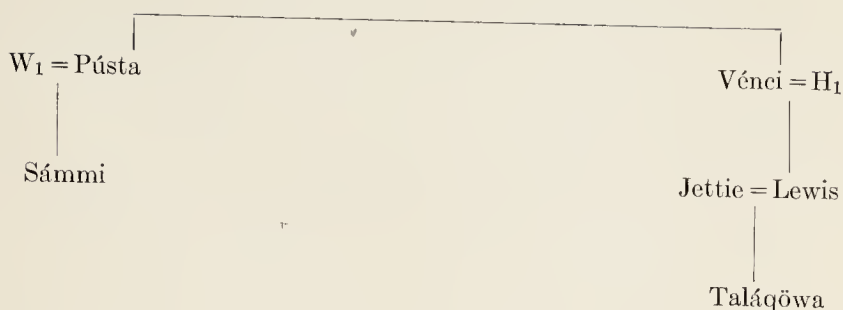
The application of this term to one type of cross-cousin was tested in a number of cases. Thus, Lewis and his sister call Albert (Table 1) *ina'a'*. In turn Lewis is addressed in this fashion by Sammi, whose relationship to him is illustrated in Table 2.

TABLE 1¹



¹Husbands and wives whose names were not ascertained or are of no particular importance for the subsequent discussion are designated by H and W and distinguished by numerals.

TABLE 2



In Jettie's family (Table 3, p. 370) Stephen applies to Allen, his father's sister's son, and to little Yóya, his father's sister's daughter's son, the same term he uses for his own father, Silas.

Again, Hólla (Table 4) is called father by Lewis because he is Lewis' father's sister's son. Lewis' wife also calls him father because he is her father's clansman.

On the Second Mesa Luke is Cik'álletstiba's father, despite Cik'álletstiba's great age, because Cik'álletstiba's father was Luke's maternal uncle.

Yóya would class Sik'áweñka's sons (Table 1) as fathers, "little fathers," to be sure (*iná-hohāamā*). From one point of view this seems inconsistent, for they would be his father's father's sister's daughter's sons, i.e., his father's *k'a'a*'s sons, hence his father's fathers (see p. 368). But the matter becomes clear if we shift the point of departure. Sik'áweñka herself is reckoned, logically enough, as Yóya's grandmother, being his father's *k'a'a* and thus of grandparental status; and accordingly Sik'áweñka's sons become Yóya's fathers.

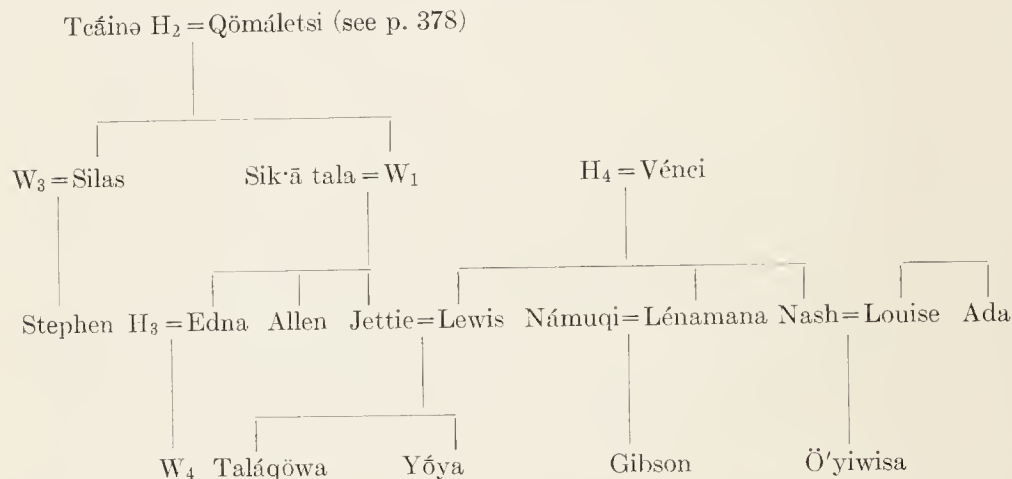
Yóya calls Herbert, the husband of his mother's sister, *ina'a*, but this is optional.

An interesting case is presented by the relations of Nöwá'oi and Lewis. Being the son of Lewis' maternal uncle, Nöwá'oi is by birth Lewis' "son" (see p. 371). But he married a sister, now deceased, of Lewis' mother, which makes him Lewis' father. In actual practice Lewis sometimes addresses him as son, sometimes as father; and Nöwá'oi employs corresponding terms. Inasmuch, however, as Lewis and Nöwá'oi's children always address each other by sibling terms, it is clear that in this instance Nöwá'oi's marriage rather than his blood-relationship with Lewis takes precedence.

Another instance of dual relationship is equally interesting. Inasmuch as Ūmau'ö' belongs to the *ās* clan like Lewis' father, she and her

daughter Anette are Lewis' *k'áa*; but Umau'ö's father was a Corn-Cloud man, i.e., he belonged to Lewis' clan; hence, Lewis may be properly classed as her "father." Sometimes she so addresses him and he calls her daughter; at other times he addresses her as *ik'a'a* and she in turn calls him *imö'yí*.

TABLE 3



IÑA'Ö'

This term embraces the mother, mother's sister, and the father's wife who is not the speaker's own mother. It is optionally applied to the father's brother's wife and apparently also to the wife of any man designated as father.

Jettie (Table 3) is mother to Edna's little daughter, W₄.

Ö'i wisi calls Ada, his mother's sister, *iñā'ö'*. He sometimes calls Jettie by this term, and Yōya may apply it to Louise. Luke's wife classes Sāalak'ō, her mother's sister, with her mother.

Henry Yōyañwö'ö calls Luke's wife *iñā'ö'* because her husband is his "father."

ĪTI'I'

This seems to be a generic word for child regardless of its sex, for though a daughter is commonly addressed *īti'í-mána* or *ī-man-ti'í*, the etymology of these terms is transparent: my child female, my female child. I was expressly told that a girl may be addressed *īti'í*; moreover, I have recorded the following sentence, proving that the stem may be applied to a girl: *īti hōmīlauwa*, my daughter is shelling corn.

Both sexes use this stem to designate a child or a parallel sibling's child. A man applies it to his mother's brother's child or the child of a

clansman generally; including that of a sister's son. He may use it for the child of the wife's sister, while a woman may apply it to the child of the husband's brother. Generally, the term is correlative with the terms for father and mother.

Specifically, the classification of certain cross-cousins with the father is of course correlated with the classification of the speakers with the sons of the cross-cousins so addressed. As an additional example may be cited the following: Gibson calls Yóya, his mother's brother's son, *ĩti'í*, and is in turn called *ĩna'á*.

Nash (Table 3) would call a child of Gibson's *ĩti'í* and refer to this nephew's children as *itā'timə* or, descriptively, as *itátiwatə tĩmat*.

Ada calls Ö'í wĩsĩ, his sister's son, *ĩti'ĩ*. Albert (Table 1) calls Lewis and Lewis' sister Lenamana *ĩti'í*.

Lewis addresses Hömĩsi as his daughter because her father was a Cloud-Corn man.

Stephen (Table 3) is Allen's "son."

Luke and his wife both call Henry Yóyawö'ö *ĩti'í* because he is the son of Luke's maternal uncle.

ĪTAHÁ

Both sexes address the mother's brother or clansman of her generation as *ĩtahá*, little children shortening the term to *tā'ha*. The mother's mother's brother is also classed with the maternal uncle, but there is an alternative designation, that for elder brother (see below and p. 373).

Gibson calls Lewis and Nash (Table 3) *ĩtahá*.

Luke's wife calls Nahö'ttiwa, a clansman of doubtful relationship, by the same term.

Tallásmana, though no immediate blood-relative, calls her clansman Luke *ĩtahá*.

Cik'älletstíba is Qöwánvenici's mother's mother's brother. She calls him *ĩtahá* but on special inquiry admitted she ought to call him *ĩBABA*. Yet the old man always classes her with his sister's children not with his younger sisters.

ITÍWAAYA

This term is applied only by males to a sister's or clanswoman's child and to the child of a sister's or clanswoman's daughter. An etymological connection with the word for child is highly probable.

Lewis addresses Gibson, his sister's son, as *itíwaaya*. Lewis' brother Nash of course uses the same term.

Nahö'ttiwa addresses his clanswoman, Luke's wife, by this appellation.

Luke calls his little clanswoman Tallásmana *ĩtĩwaaya*.

Cik'allɛtstiba, as already noted, uses this term for his sister's daughter's daughter.

IK'A'Á

ik'a'á is applied to the father's sister, the father's sister's daughter, the father's sister's daughter's daughter, and so forth *ad infinitum*. All these female relatives are comprised under the collective designation *iták'ama*, our "aunts" but the eldest may be distinguished by having the grandmother term applied to her.

These meanings were tested genealogically for my interpreter's family.

Pōwulí (Table 1) is included by Lewis in the generic term *iták'ama*, but is addressed by the grandmother term (see below). Her daughters, Tōwá nōoci and Tōwáñainömö, are called *ik'a'á* by Lewis; so are Tōwá-nö öci's daughters, Talá mönōma and Sik'áweñka; and their daughters would be addressed in the same fashion.

Yōya would call Sik'áweñka's daughter, i.e., his father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter, *ik'a'á*. This seems inconsistent since it is equivalent to applying that term to the sister of the father's father, but becomes intelligible if we remember that Sik'áweñka herself is considered Yōya's grandmother (see below).

The same rule is exemplified in the case of Jettie's family, part of which is represented in Table 3.

Stephen calls W₁, his father's sister, *ik'a'á*, and uses the same term in addressing Jettie and her sister (not represented in the table). If Jettie had a daughter, he would also apply the same term to her.

ĩso'ó

Both sexes apply this term to both the maternal and the paternal grandmother, as well as to the father's eldest sister; the last-mentioned application is, I think, optional, though usual.

Páyaoma calls both his father's and his mother's mother *iso'ó*.

Lewis addresses Pōwulí (Table 1) as *iso'ó*.

Yōya calls Sik'áweñka (Table 1) *iso'ó*. This becomes intelligible when we recall that Yōya's father calls the same individual *ik'a'á*; from Yōya's angle then, she is translated to the next higher age-grade.

IKWA'Á

This term is applied by both sexes to both the maternal and the paternal grandfather, as well as to the father's sister's husband; also

to the husband of a grandmother or of a woman classed with the grandmother.

Jettie addresses Tcáinə as *ikwa'á* (also recorded *iqwa'á* in my notes).

May (Table 5) addresses Lománaqusi, as well as her father's father (Table 6) by the same term, which she likewise applies to Qöyá nöm̄tiwa, Cik'ávεema, and Rudolf.

Lewis calls Lê taya *ikwa'á* because he married a woman Lewis classes as his *k'a'á*.

IMÖ'YI

Both sexes use this term to denote a grandchild or spouse's grandchild; females apply it also to the brother's child and the maternal uncle's child and in general to those who address them as *iso'ó* or *ík'a'a*.

Tcáinə calls Jettie *imö'yi* (Table 3).

Lénamana addresses Yöya and Ö'yiwisa (Table 3) as *imö'yi*.

A man of the Lizard clan married his *k'a'á*; of his wife my informant said: *mö'yi qū'ñya+ita*, her *mö'yi* is her husband.

Were Lénamana's daughter living, she would call Yöya (Table 3) *imö'yi* and he would address her as *ík'a'á*. These terms would hold if Yöya were a girl.

Edna calls Stephen (Table 3) *imö'yi*; Jettie would similarly address Allen's daughter.

Lomanaqusi and Sáalak'o address May (Table 5) as *imö'yi*.

ĪBABA

Both sexes address an elder brother or parallel cousin as *ĭBABA* (third person: *pāBata*). A mother's mother's brother may be similarly designated. According to one statement he does not use the correlative terms that might be expected in a consistent system, but there is contradictory evidence from the Second Mesa that he sometimes does. Men use the term for a wife's brother older than the speaker.

Nash (Table 3) addresses Lewis as *ĭBABA*. Ö'yiwisa in the same table applies the term to Taláqöwa.

Luke's wife (Table 5) calls Lomá tōna *ĭBa Ba*.

Luke is called *ĭBa Ba* by Tōwáhoyoma. Were Poléñoisi an own sister of Luke's wife's, she would also address Luke as *ĭBa Ba*, and he would reciprocally call her *icĭwa*.

Little Tallásmana calls three men who were own brothers to her great grandmother *ĭBa Ba*; her deceased mother also applied this term to them.

Half-siblings apply to one another sibling terms. Thus, Máqto has two sons, Byron and Robert by a former wife, and two, Orlen and Golden, by another, and these are all reckoned as brothers to one another.

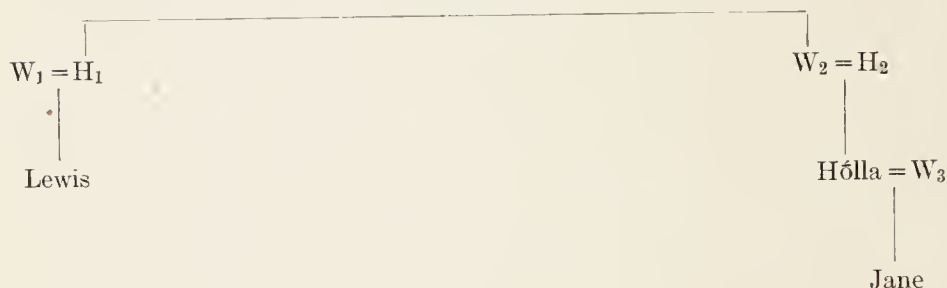
IQÖQÁ

This term is applied by both sexes to the elder sister and the elder female parallel cousin. Males apply it to a wife's sister older than themselves.

Nash calls Lenamana (Table 3) *iqöqá*.

This, as well as other sibling terms, is extended to the children of individuals addressed as parents. For example, Lewis calls Jane (Table 4) his sister because she is his father's sister's son's daughter.

TABLE 4



If Jettie's daughter were still living, she would be addressed as *iqöqá* by Edna's daughter (Table 3).

Hömfsi is an elder sister to Lewis' children, because he calls her his daughter (see p. 371).

Polé'ñoisi and Políbai'tiba (Table 5) call Luke's wife *iqöqá*.

An interesting conflict between matrilineal and patrilineal kinship is afforded by the case of Qöwánvenici and Táwa's children. Táwa was Qöwánvenici's mother's sister's daughter, i.e., in Hopi speech, her sister; hence, her children are Qöwánvenici's children and should address her as *ĩña'ö'*. But their father and Qöwánvenici's father were members of the same clan; hence, the children generally address Qöwánvenici as *iqöqá*, and she uses the correlative *itö'p'quə*, though occasionally she substitutes *ĩti'í*.

ITÖ'PQUə

This word is applied by both sexes to a younger brother, and by

females to a younger sister. It embraces parallel cousins of these categories. A man may use it for a wife's brother younger than himself.

Lewis addresses Nash (Table 3) as *itö'pquə*.

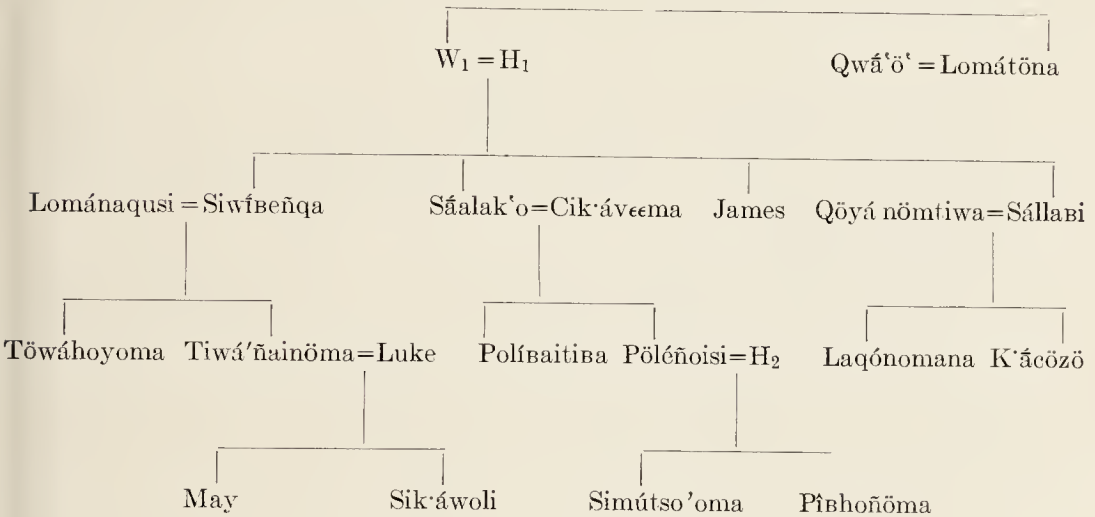
Edna's daughter (W_4 in Table 3) would be so called by Jettie's daughter if the latter were still living.

Ñ'amuqi, Lenamana's husband (Table 3), calls Nash *itö'pquə*.

Luke's wife (Table 5) addresses Polé'noisi and Políbai'tiba by this term.

Luke calls Töwáhoiyoma *itö'pquə*.

TABLE 5



ICÍ'WA

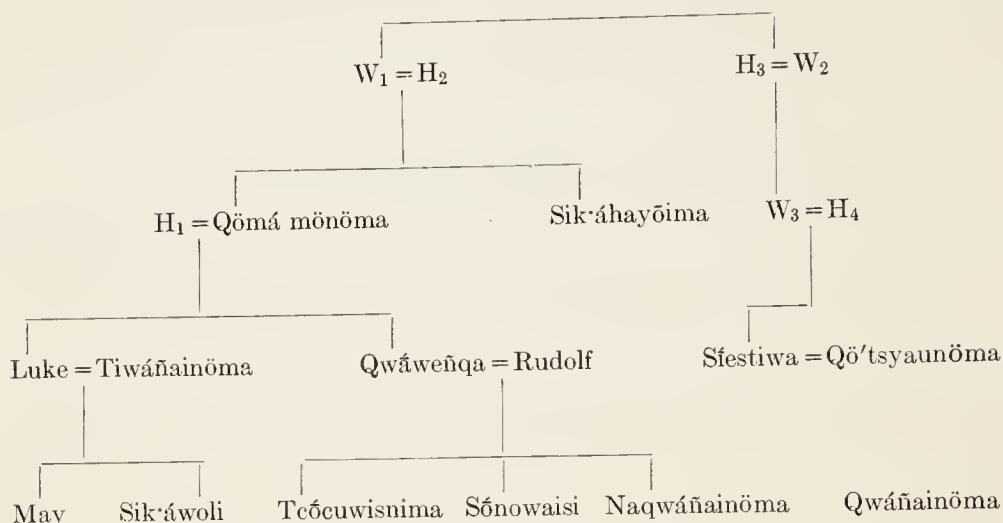
This term is used only by males to address or designate a younger sister or younger female parallel cousin; also, at least on the Second Mesa, in addressing a sister's daughter's daughter, but usage seems to vary.

Yóya (Table 3) addresses Edna's daughter, W_4 , as *icí'wa*.

Lomátöna (Table 5) calls Luke's wife *icí'wa*.

Three old men address their own sister's great-granddaughter. Talásmana, by this term.

TABLE 6



ĪMÖ'ÖNAÑA'Ö

Both sexes apply this term to a kinswoman's husband; I specifically noted its use for the sister's husband, the daughter's husband, and the granddaughter's husband. A man applies it to the mother's brother's daughter's husband.

Lewis and Nash (Table 3) calls Ñámuqi, Lenamana's husband, *īmō'ö naña'ö*. Venci, Nash's mother, addresses her son-in-law by the same term. Lewis also applies it to an Oraibi man who married his mother's brother's daughter. Jettie applies it to Herbert, her sister's husband; Dora and Edna sometimes so designate Lewis, their sister's husband.

Lománaquasi (Table 5) calls Luke *īmō'ö naña'ö*. Tōwáhoiyoma speaks of Luke using the same term, but never addresses him by it, substituting a brother term, as elsewhere noted.

Polé'ñoisi (Table 5), though not an own sister to Luke's wife, calls him *īmō'ö naña'ö*, and he calls her by name.

ĪMÖ'UWI

Both sexes apply this term to a kinsman's wife; specifically, to a son's, a maternal uncle's, a sister's son's, a brother's, a brother's son's, and a grandson's wife.

Venci (Table 3) calls both Louise and Jettie *īmō'uwi* but does not regard Jettie's sister as in any way connected with herself. Venci's son, Nash, applies the same term to Jettie as does his mother.

Jettie thus calls Lomaíantiwa's wife, he being her maternal uncle.

Lewis calls Louise either *īmō'ui* or teknonymically (see below).

Luke's wife (Table 5) calls Qwá'ö' (her mother's mother's brother's wife) *īmō'ui*. This term would be applied to herself by Luke's mother if she were still living.

DESIGNATION OF AFFINITY

It appears from the foregoing presentation that terms of affinity are remarkably rare in Hopi nomenclature. There are really only two specific terms of this category,—one designating a kinswoman's husband, the other a kinsman's wife; and it should be specially noted that these appellations cannot be applied to the correlative relationship. The words for husband and wife given in the Summary List are never used vocatively or even non-vocatively in the first person, though others may say *qúñyata*, her husband or *nō'mmaata*, his wife. Some connections by marriage are designated by terms primarily denoting consanguinity; in other cases no special relationship of any kind seems to be recognized. By way of compensation there are two features otherwise rare among North American tribes, but developed by the Hopi to an extraordinary degree,—the use of proper names and teknonymy.

Since there is a good deal of irregularity in the designation of connections by marriage, I will illustrate Hopi usage by a fair number of concrete cases, sometimes repeating in the interest of clearness information already given.

Jettie addresses Venci, her husband's mother, either by name or as "grandmother of So-and-so," mentioning the name of any one of her own children or even of a grandchild of Venci's that is no child of hers (the speaker's). Were Jettie's father-in-law alive, she would call him "grandfather of So-and-so."

— Lewis calls Sik'átala (Table 3) either by name or, probably more frequently, "So-and-so's grandfather" or "Dora's (Edna's) father." On another occasion my informant denied ever addressing his father-in-law by name. In this case the force of teknonymic usage is striking, for since Sik'átala is a member of Lewis' father's clan he might from that point of view be addressed as father. Were his mother-in-law alive, Lewis says he should not use her name but would call her "So-and-so's grandmother." He also addresses Tcáinə and Qömá letsi as the children's grandparents; for some reason he does not use Tcáinə's name in speaking to him.

¹The evidence for teknonymy, however, is increasing now that scholars are on the lookout for it.

Sik'átala calls Tcáinā either by name or grandfather of So-and-so; Tcáinā reciprocates by calling Sik'átala by name or grandfather of the very same children. The reason Tcáinā does not call Sik'átala *īmō'ōnañā'ō* is because Tcáinā is not own father to Sik'átala's wife, but only husband of her own father's widow.

Sometimes husband or wife refers to the other spouse's mother as *sóu-wō'ti*, grandmother-woman, the intent being obviously teknonymic, as it sometimes is quite overtly.

Even where a definite term exists, a teknonymic form may be preferred. Thus, Allen (Table 3) sometimes calls Lewis *īmō'ōnañā'ō*, but sometimes addresses him as Yóya's father. Lewis may call Louise either *īmō'uwi* or Ö'iwisa's mother.

Qömáletsi and her husband sometimes call Lewis *īmō'ōnañā'ō*, sometimes teknonymically.

Husband and wife never address each other by name nor use a specific designation, but speak to and of each other teknonymically, Lewis addresses or speaks of his wife as Yóyat yō'ata, i.e., Yóya's mother, and even in English speech refers to her as "Herman's mother." She calls him Yóya's father, which term she extends to her husband's brother, Nash.

As explained above, terms designating a sibling's spouse are not reciprocal. A woman addresses her husband's sibling by name, teknonymy being optionally substituted in some instances as in the case of Louise's addressing Lewis or Jettie's calling Nash. A man addresses his wife's sibling as though he or she were his own sibling, actual seniority determining the terms used. Thus, Nāmuqi calls Lewis and Nash his younger brothers, Nash addresses Ada and Norma as *ic'twa*, while Herbert calls Jettie *iaqōqá*. The rule for these relationships does not seem absolute, for I have myself heard Lewis call his wife's sisters by name and they, while sometimes calling him *īmō'ōnañā'ō*, also address him as an elder brother correlatively with what may be his preferential mode of address for them. Lewis calls Allen sometimes by his English name, sometimes teknonymically "maternal uncle of—" (one of Lewis' own children). Herbert, who has married a sister of Lewis' wife, and Lewis call each other "father of—" (one of Lewis' own children). Sometimes Lewis calls Herbert "uncle of So-and-so"; but since Herbert has a daughter Lewis may address him as her father, a form that is apparently reckoned more polite. Lénamana and Jettie address each other teknonymically.

CHILDREN'S TERMS

The following terms are used exclusively by young children: *dāda*, father; *yāya*, mother; *pá'apa*, grandfather; *sō'oso*, grandmother.

Of these the last is plainly a mere variation of the normal Hopi term, *yaya* is also the regular Cochiti word for mother, while the remaining terms are strongly suggestive of the Tewa words for father and great-grandparent (of either sex).¹

A grandfather (not a grandmother) will address a male child just learning to speak by the term *bābahuyà* and expect the little boy to repeat the word after him.

SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

Having now presented the facts concerning Hopi kinship nomenclature, I revert to the double problem that gave rise to the investigation. And first we may approach the simple question in what measure the Hopi system retains features distinctive of the Shoshoneans. The answer is that the traits which most decidedly distinguish the Shoshoneans from the tribes to the east of them, viz., reciprocity and the differentiation of maternal and paternal grandparents, fail to appear among the Hopi. This is all the more noteworthy because these very traits occur among a number of non-Shoshonean Southwesterners. Thus, the Papago, according to data kindly supplied by Doctor J. A. Mason, have four grandparent terms, three of the identical stems (with suffix of juniority) being used for the reciprocal relationship as, in Ute. Similarly, the Tewa of Hano call the mother's mother *saja*, with the reciprocal *saja'e*; the father's mother *kuku*, reciprocal *ku'e*; the mother's and father's father *t'ete*, reciprocal *t'ete'i*. The Navajo data furnished by Doctor Reichard² indicate differentiation of paternal and maternal grandparents and the use of an identical or phonetically similar stem for the correlative kinship. Reciprocity, indeed, extends beyond these terms to those of the uncle-nephew category: *-dai'* is maternal uncle; *-da*, sister's son; *-bije'* is father's sister and also brother's child (w. sp.). Finally, a Keresan series of terms collected by Doctor Parsons at Acoma, while not exhibiting any distinction of connecting parent in the designation of grandparents, gives evidence of a certain measure of reciprocal terminology. There is thus nothing in the terminologies of neighboring

¹Dumarest, Father Noel, "Notes on Cochiti, New Mexico" (*Memoirs, American Anthropological Association*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1919), 197; Freire-Marreco, Barbara, "Tewa Kinship Terms from the Pueblo of Hano, Arizona" (*American Anthropologist*, n.s. vol. 16, pp. 269-287, 1914), 273, 277; Harrington, J. P., "Tewa Relationship Terms" (*American Anthropologist*, n.s. vol. 14, pp. 473-498, 1912), 279, 481.

²Reichard, G. A., "Social Life of the Navajo Indians, with some Attention to Minor Ceremonies" (*Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology*, New York, 1928), 82.

groups that was at all prejudicial to the retention of the two presumably ancient Shoshonean features lost by the Hopi.

Let us turn now to the possible influence of the social organization. In what degree, more specifically, does the connotation of Hopi terms reflect their clan system? Here the answer is that the clan system seems to be correlated to a considerable extent with existing usage. There are, first of all, the classifications commonly found in connection with a clan system: father's brother and father, mother's sister and mother, child and parallel sibling's child are classed together. Secondly, we find a strong tendency to extend some of these terms to all of a group of clans-folk; father, e.g., is extended to all members of the father's clan. There is even evidence that these extensions would hold for the clans of other Hopi villages. As a specific and most interesting result there is a marked tendency to override the generation principle. The father's sister's son and the father's mother's brother are both classed with the father; correspondingly, the mother's brother's son (m. sp.) and the sister's son's son (m. sp.) are designated as sons. The mother's mother's brother is either a maternal uncle or an elder brother. The father's sister's female descendants through females are all called by the same term as the father's sister.

It is of course necessary to consider alternative explanations. To account for the customary "Dakota-Iroquois" or "Bifurcate Merging" classification of uncles and aunts Doctor Sapir has suggested the influence of the levirate and sororate and I have myself accepted the view that their joint action can produce the Dakota type of nomenclature. However, in the present instance this theory is inapplicable, for the Hopi practise neither the sororate nor the levirate. What is more, we can hardly assume that these customs produced the observed results and then became obsolete, because the Paiute and Paviotso who practise the levirate distinguish father and paternal uncle in terminology. Further, the evidence yielded by those cases in which the generation factor is ignored seems to me decisive. What plausible reason *can* be given for calling all the female descendants through females of the paternal aunt by the same term as the paternal aunt herself, unless it be the fact that all these females are members of the same clan or, to put it more cautiously, unless they are aligned together by some cause, such as common residence, that is correlated with the clan idea?

The distribution of these particular features in defiance of the generation principle is very suggestive. Among the Tlingit they do not appear to be developed with equal consistency, but the father's sister's

son is classed with the paternal uncle and the father's sister's daughter with the father's sister, though there is no evidence that the paternal aunt's subsequent descendants fall in the same category.¹ Among the Crow and Hidatsa all the Hopi features now under discussion recur in almost the same form. The father's sister's son and father are called by one term, the father's sister's female descendants through females are classed with the paternal aunt, the mother's brother's child with the child. As optionally in Hopi, the mother's mother's brother is an elder brother, but with greater consistency the Crow and Hidatsa apply the same term to a mother's brother, who is designated by a specific uncle word in Hopi. Some of these features have also been recorded among the Mandan, but owing to the peculiar situation of the few surviving members of that tribe they may there be merely a quite recent effect of Hidatsa contact.² The Pawnee system has not been fully re-recorded since Morgan's time but some notes jotted down by Mr. Murie confirm Morgan's statement that the father's sister's son is called father. The father's sister's daughter is indeed called mother, but that is evidently because Pawnee lacks a term for the paternal aunt, who is called mother. Correlatively, the mother's brother's child is classed with the child. In the remaining relationships under discussion Pawnee differs from Hopi. The mother's mother's brother is put into the grandfather class. Further, according to Morgan, the children of the cross-cousin classed with the mother "are my father and mother again, and their respective descendants continue to be fathers and mothers in an infinite series,"—a surprising statement calling for reëxamination.³ Farther to the east the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw share some of the Hopi features, as appears not only from Morgan's schedules but from data kindly provided by Doctor Swanton.⁴ The father's sister's son is called father and her daughter is classed with the father's sister according to both authorities; and according to Swanton the Creek and Chickasaw, at all events, class all the paternal aunt's female descendants through females with the paternal aunt. Finally, there is evidence from Pueblo tribes other than the Hopi. The Tewa of Hano apply their father term to all members of his clan irrespective of age and generation and a single term designates the paternal aunt and all her clanswomen regardless of generation. Correlatively, a clansman's child is classed with one's own

¹Swanton, John R., "Social Condition, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians" (*Twenty-sixth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 391-485, Washington, 1908), 425.

²Lowie, *this series*, vol. 21, 11 seq., 27-32, 59-67.

³Morgan, Lewis H., "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family" (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 17, Washington, 1871), 197.

⁴Morgan, *Systems*, p. 191; Swanton, John R., letter of December 13, 1915.

children (m. sp.). Further, the word for maternal uncle designates all the speaker's senior clansmen to the remotest antiquity, though there is also a specific word for the mother's mother's brother. Here Tewa is more consistent than Hopi, which distinguishes the maternal uncle by a specific designation, but at least frequently classes the mother's mother's brother with the elder brother. From another point of view the clan factor is more prominent among the Tewa, for through the operation of reciprocity there is really but a single stem for all clansmen (m. sp.), the younger ones being merely distinguished by an affix denoting juniority.¹ Zuñi usage is far less consistent than that of any of the other tribes here enumerated. Nevertheless, there is concrete evidence that the father's sister's son is sometimes classed with the father; and the father's sister's daughter, as well as with the father's mother's sister's daughter's daughter, with the paternal aunt herself.² To Doctor E. C. Parsons I owe the information that at the Keresan pueblo of Laguna the father's sister's son is called father, while the father's sister's daughter is designated as grandmother,—presumably the term also applied to the paternal aunt.

All the tribes cited in the preceding paragraph are with one exception, the Pawnee, organized into exogamous sibs with matrilineal descent; and the Pawnee, though not exogamous, recognized descent through the mother in point of local affiliation.³ In short, the features discussed above, and specifically the classification of cross-cousins with father, son, paternal aunt, are linked with the custom of reckoning descent matrilineally, and I can find no evidence that it is found in a patrilineal community. On the other hand, there are several patrilineal tribes—Central Algonkian, Southern Siouan, Miwok of California—which exhibit the reverse condition, almost precisely as might be expected if the clan factor is in operation. The Omaha mother's brother's son, e.g., and all his male descendants through males are called by the same term as the mother's brother, the mother's brother's daughter is classed with the mother, the father's sister's son with the sister's son, the father's sister's daughter with the sister's daughter.

While thus vindicating the importance of the clan factor for the evolution of the Hopi nomenclature, I am far from contending that this determinant, alone or conjointly with other social agencies, is responsible for the whole of Hopi terminology. But inasmuch as some writers re-

¹Freire-Marreco, *Tewa Kinship Terms*, 272-287.

²Kroeber, A. L., "Zuñi Kin and Clan" (*This series*, vol. 18, part 2, 1917), 53, 65. Parsons, Elsie Clews, "Notes on Zuñi" (*Memoirs, American Anthropological Association*, vol. 4, nos. 3, 4), 261.

³Murie, James R., "Pawnee Indian Societies" (*This series*, vol. 11, part 7, 1914), 549.

main skeptical as to sociological factors it is well to stress their reality, in at least one instance. A large number of the Hopi terms are wholly or predominantly clan terms; others, such as *ĩti'í*, while not confined to members of the same clan, are intelligible as logical correlatives of the former; still others may be at least in part based on the clan concept.

Under the last category I should include cases in which a designation results from the combined action of clan affiliation and kinship in our ordinary genealogical sense of the word. The Hopi classification of the father's sister's husband with the grandfather is a case in point. The use of the grandfather term itself, being applicable to both a mother's and a father's father, who are conceivably but of course not normally, of one clan, is naturally independent of the clan and may be taken as indicating an age or generation term. But the application of this term to the paternal aunt's husband seems to me a logical result of the Hopi method of designating that aunt's son: if this son is a "father", *his* father naturally moves up one rung in the age-scale to become a grandfather. The basic clan relationship of the cross-cousin with the speaker's father and the cross-cousin's genealogical relationship to his own father produces the observed result. Turning to Morgan's schedules, we find that the following tribes class the paternal aunt's husband with the grandfather: Hidatsa, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Pawnee.¹ It will be noted that all of these likewise class the father's sister's son with the father. Consistency would demand that the paternal aunt be classed with the grandmother, and so she is by the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek² but not by the Hopi except when she is the eldest of the father's sisters. However, a Hopi woman regularly addresses her brother's child as her grandchild, a usage occasionally found among the matrilineal Crow,³ where, however, the father's sister's husband is always a "father" not a "grandfather." Complete consistency, clearly enough, is not to be expected.

To revert to the problem set. I conclude that linguistic conservatism has been of slight importance in the history of the present Hopi nomenclature and that the clan concept has exerted a deep influence upon it.

¹Morgan, *Systems*, 322.

²Morgan adds the Hidatsa but I was not able to get confirmation of this statement.

³Lowie, *this series*, vol. 21, 67.

KINSHIP USAGES

The relationship between the children of a household and their mother's brothers is certainly close and transmission of ceremonial privilege is frequently from maternal uncle to sister's son. My impression is, however, that a younger brother of the retiring or deceased incumbent takes precedence of the sister's son. To what extent corporeal property, including land, follows like inheritance rules, I do not know.

Maternal uncles and father shared in the education of children, but religious and ceremonial instruction seems to have devolved primarily on the maternal uncles. Uncles are represented as reproving a man for deviating from custom, e.g., they are said to have upbraided a berdache for living as he did when he was in reality a man.

In striking contrast to Navajo custom¹ there is no mother-in-law taboo.

A sort of joking-relationship obtains between children and their grandfathers or father's sister's husbands, who, it will be remembered, are designated by the same term. According to Luke, the usages in question are associated not with the grandfather, but with the father's sister's husband. In my presence he teased a little boy, Piáqöca, making him cry by a threat to pour water on him; this boy was called *imō'yi* by Luke and Luke's wife was his aunt. Sometimes the father's sister's husband carries the boy round the house on his back and asks others to pour water on the child. These tricks are played only on young children and in later life the victims retaliate on their aunt's husband (their *k'āyat quūnyata*). Luke and his wife thought the custom was more highly developed on the First than on their own Mesa. At Sichumovi the real grandfather was certainly included in the relationship, for Sik'ātala was mentioned as playing tricks on Lewis's children. Here, indeed, the grandmother and the great-grandparents were also included in the category of "jokers." The approved method here seems to be that of bathing the children in snow and rain "in order to make them strong." Further, the grandfathers make fun of the grandchildren. On the morning of the last day of the Flute ceremony I noticed that little boys in Walpi were daubed with white paint on their cheeks and limbs, but I was told that when they are a little older they resist this style of decoration for fear of their grandfathers' mockery. Yóya, according to Lewis, was big enough in 1916 "to say back many things to (his grandfather) Sik'ātala." He was possibly seven years old then. When boys are sixteen or seventeen

¹Reichard, *Social Life of the Navajo Indians*, 71.

years old they retaliate, seizing a grandfather or aunt's husband and throwing him into the snow. If he resists, another of his "grandsons" will help and each youth taking him by one arm they fling him into the snow. He does not get angry at this. The boys doing this will say to the old man, *pai ḡō'ya tēāqnōḡō ómō nō'yan tíñwa*, "When I was young, you did this to me."

A special relationship also unites an individual and his father's sister or relative classed as such. Thus, when a child was born, his *k'áa* gave him the necessary cradle wrappings and in later life furnished him with food. In the old scalp dance men danced with their *k'áa*. In the Harvest dance (*hōwināya*) the *qale'taka* are boys or, failing them, men selected by their "aunts." Lewis, when about six years old, was chosen by a *k'áa*, George's sister. Three years ago Nash was picked out by Evelyn, one of Pōwuli's grandchildren.

According to Doctor Swanton,¹ the father's sister

was a very significant personage in Pawnee life. She and the household which she belonged to, all of whom were known as "fathers" and "mothers" . . . had a very vivid concern for the welfare of her brother's children and their descendants, and she looked after them in case anything happened to their own father. If any of these children visited her or her people and merely expressed a wish for something, it was immediately handed over, and therefore it was not etiquette to visit her very frequently. Murie says he was once punished by his mother for doing so. The feeling, or obligation, was not reciprocal.

According to notes on Pawnee kinship by Mr. Murie, a father's sister's husband had the right "to tease, punish, and correct" the children of his wife's brother in daily life.

These Pawnee parallels may possibly be significant.

¹Letter of March 24, 1921.

CEREMONIAL AND OTHER EXTENSIONS OF KINSHIP TERMS

Members of the same clan in other villages are designated by kinship terms. It is also customary to class as kindred members of linked clans. For example, the Horn people of the First Mesa call those of other villages uncles, nephews, etc., according to the relative ages; and the Snake, Flute, and Horn people apply kinship terms to one another in accordance with the same principle. Cálak'u was addressed as mother by Snake people of other Mesas.

In addition to these extensions there is a constant transfer of kinship terms to unrelated individuals, mainly as a result of some ceremonial connection. Apparently certain clans, as such, are conceived as standing to each other in a definite relationship. Thus, Háni (Tobacco, Rabbit) called Qútqa (Bear) "father", because the Rabbit people came to Hopiland later than the Bear people.

An important ceremonial relationship is that between a boy and the man who acts as his sponsor at initiation. This sponsor is an unrelated man and is selected by the boy's own mother, who pays him a fee.¹ He becomes the novice's "father" and this relationship obtains through life. Girls have "mothers", who are similarly selected.

In the secret societies novices who enter as a result of a cure select a "father" or "mother." This statement is definitely known to apply to the Snake and Mámajau'tö associations.

The men who offered *bahos* at the Farewell Kachina dance in Mishongnovi were referred to as "fathers."

Lewis Léhungva called Tõ'nuə, Húoñi, and Qútqa "father" even apart from the Flute dance, but solely on account of his ceremonial relationship with them. He called a young Flute clan woman "paternal aunt" because of his ceremonial connection with Flute men.

Lénamana's children called Lewis's maternal uncle's son "grandfather" because ceremonially he was father to their grandmother, Vénci.

¹Two hundred pounds of flour and two *piki* piles, in a concrete example.

MARRIAGE WITH RELATIVES

The levirate and the sororate, so widely practised outside the Pueblo area, were not normal forms of marriage among the Hopi. One informant recollected a single case, that of a woman named Polívetq, who had married a husband's brother. It may be noted in this connection that the designation of affinities lends no support to the hypothesis that the levirate and the sororate were ever in vogue. The difference between the Pawnee and Hopi is suggestive on this point. According to Morgan, a Pawnee man classes his brother's wife and his wife's sister with the wife, while a woman classes her husband's brother and her sister's husband with the husband.¹ In Crow there is not complete identity, but the terms for wife's elder or younger sister and for brother's wife are all three obviously derived from the stem for wife (úə-wa+isé, úə-karicta, úəka; úə), and there is a suspicion that the word for my husband's brother, *bactsité*, is connected with that for my husband, *bactsiré*.² It has been shown that in Hopi there are generic terms for a kinsman's wife and a kinswoman's husband, respectively, the reciprocal relationship being designated rather irregularly, by teknonymy, name, or sibling terms, which latter may also be applied in the reverse direction.

Cross-cousin marriage has been reported by Miss Freire-Marreco, who learned that it was "occasional at Walpi and Sichomovi, and regular in all the other Hopi villages."³ I have sought confirmation of this statement with the following results.

There seems to be agreement on the point that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter is improper. At Mishongnovi Luke and some old women could not recollect a single instance of such a marriage. On the First Mesa, Clyde (Oqóñ's son) married Tíñavi's daughter; since Tíñavi is a man of the Rabbit clan, he is "brother" to Oqóñ, and accordingly, Clyde has married a maternal uncle's daughter. The question is whether Oqóñ and Tíñavi are own siblings or more remote blood-kin or mere clan-mates. I suspect that they are not own siblings because Vénci said she did not know of any marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter. On the contrary assumption, Clyde's case might be taken to represent the obsolescence of ancient custom due to modern conditions.

On the other hand, Luke and Vénci both admitted the occurrence of marriage with *k'áata*, i.e., father's sister's daughters or kin comprised under the same heading. On the First Mesa Tawōya, whose father was

¹Morgan, *Systems*, 378, 380.

²Lowie, *this series*, vol. 21, 69.

³Freire-Marreco, *Tewa Kinship Terms*, 286.

of the Rabbit clan, married Oqón's daughter. She is his *k'áa*,—whether merely by virtue of the clan bond or by blood kinship, I am unable to determine. Ná'qala and his brother Tséci married two sisters, standing to them in the relationship of *k'áata*, but here again there is uncertainty as to the genealogical connections. On the other hand, George Qotcáci is said to have married his own father's own sister, Sik'áweñka. After such marriages the spouses drop the kinship terms used prior to marriage. In the last case mentioned, Lewis, a "brother" of the two men, ceased calling their wives *ik'áa* and addressed them as *mö'öwö*, but they persisted in calling him *imöyi*. In Shipaulovi a man named Tallásmömbá married Bertha, who is his *k'áa*, but in this case I was able definitely to determine a lack of at least close blood-kinship. Some old women told me that while unions with one's *k'áa* were formerly more common than now, they were always of the Tallásmömbá type, i.e., the relationship was a *clan* relationship. The reason for the relative frequency of this form of marriage was said to lie in the fact that Shipaulovi has only two clans. But in recent times marriages with Mishongnovi people have become common and have removed the conditions of a moiety organization.

On the whole I feel that the evidence does not establish cross-cousin marriage in the narrower sense of the term except as possibly of occasional occurrence.

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